1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

175 of the Cordillera toward the headwaters of the Yukon River, where they traded with local
177 Indians.[30] The headwaters of the Taku are about thirty miles east of Teslin Lake, at present a Taku Indian village, which adjoins the territory of the Upper Liard Indians. According to Lees numerous trails lead into the Teslin Lake area from the Pacific Coast and a 150 mile trail runs from Teslin Indian village to the Upper Liard area.[31] To the south the Stikine, or Stakhin, people utilized the Stikine River to carry on "a lively trade with the Indians of the interior."[32] The latter designation certainly includes the Tahltan but may also refer to the Kaska. From the upper Stikine River trade goods were further distributed by the Tahltan, who reached the Kaska on Dease Lake and, via overland trails from Telegraph Creek, the Upper Liard Indians at Albert (now Cormier) Creek, twenty-three miles west of Lower Post (Fig. 1). The mouth of Albert Creek is now the site of the bridge by which the Alaska Highway crosses the upper Liard River. According to River Joe, Tahltan traders also reached a point about fifteen miles further up the Liard. Here they established themselves in "tents." The chief's dwelling is said to have flown a flag and to have been surrounded by the tents of the "boys" who accompanied him. From this statement it would appear that Tahltan trade with the western Kaska continued until relatively late in the period of historic contact. The standard of value in this trade may be gauged from the report that an empty lard can sold for one beaver skin.[33] Krause says that some Tlingit Indians traveled as far east as Fort Simpson, which they reached in six days.[34]

● 648 Relations between the Tlingit and the inland tribes, whom the former called Go'una, were not always cordial. Swanton reports that the Tlingit valued the Athapaskans "for what could be gotten out of them but otherwise looked down upon as a lower race."[35]

175 177 *The first Europeans.* Several dates can be advanced for the first meetings between the Kaska and Europeans. The earliest probably occurred shortly after 1800, following the establishment of Forts Simpson and Liard. Soon after the amalgamation of the Hudson's Bay and the North-West Companies in 1821, a trading settlement was built at the confluences of the Smith and Liard Rivers known as Fort Halkett.[36] In 1834, J. McLeod, a trader of the Hudson's Bay Company, left Fort Simpson "and ascended the Liard to explore its upper waters—hoping, if possible, to cross the watershed and find some stream running to the Pacific." He traveled to where Lower Post is today and then ascended the Dease River, eventually reaching the Stikine after passing through Dease Lake "which he named after the Arctic explorer."[37] Four years later (1838) McLeod established a trading post on Dease Lake.

Billy Barre reported a story which may refer to the post that McLeod established on Dease Lake. The Indians discovered peculiar chips of wood floating down the water, and

[30] Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer* (1885), 103. See also Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationships of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 396, 414; Olson, *Stone Trading Customs of the Chilkat Tlingit* (1936).

[31] Lees, *Geology of the Teslin-Dease Lake Area, Yukon* (1935), 1-2.

[32] Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer* (1885), 111.

[33] Barbeau states that the Tahltan also reached Frances Lake where they traded with the Hudson's Bay Company. Barbeau, *Mountain Climb* (1944), 15, 18-19.

[34] Krause, *Die Tlinkit-Indianer* (1885), 111.

[35] Swanton, *Social Conditions, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationships of the Tlingit Indians* (1908), 411, 414.

[36] Voorhis, *Historic Forts and Trading Posts* (1930), 79.

[37] Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 95.

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175 177 794 turning to Lower Post, is said to have had possession of a map showing trails to heaven. The map, Indians reported, found its way into the hands of Catholic missionaries and was blessed by the bishop. In the Dease River area, a ceremony occured that may have contained overtones of the Prophet Dance as described by Spier. A shaman would play his drum and sing while the people danced. This was referred to as "praying to God." The shaman also dreamed to foretell the future. As a result of participating in the dance, men secured good luck for hunting. The Bear Lake Sekani are also said to havehad a prophet who performed a "kind of Mass." Further west the Taku developed a movement along similar lines. The prophet would preach and once, while he was doing so, his wife took a knife out of his pocket, as he was not supposed to carry a knife while performing religious rites.

175 177 *Recent history.* Between 1908 and 1910 the Kaska and Tahltan Indians pooled resources with other British Columbia tribes to fight the Registered Trap Line Act of the Province. According to local informants a Kaska spokesman, Ena'ten ("He Watches the People"), declared that the Indians had existed before the white man and could continue to live without his laws. The Indians demanded the right to trap anywhere without interference, [648] but their case was lost. The anthropologist-folklorist, James(locally, "Jimmy") Teit, aided the Indians in this legal move and was secretary of the intertribal organization.[48]

Around 1904 the Hudson's Bay Company's monopoly of trade in Lower Post was challenged by John Hyland, who built a store in that settlement which, twenty-two years later, was sold to Oscar Anderson. In the late thirties the establishment was acquired by Bill Strong who already owned a trading company in Telegraph Creek and had formerly traded up the Taku River. He named the establishment Taku Trading Company and continues to operate it through an agent (Pl. 1, a).

In 1913, in a report to the National Museum in Ottawa Poole Field, a local prospector and trapper and formerly a Hudson's Bay trader in Fort Simpson,[49] commented on the prevalence of tuberculosis among the Cassiar tribes. "Tuberculosis seems to be the strongest of all diseases amongst them. A few years ago they were dying off fast but it seems to have killed all the sickly ones and left the strongest and healthy ones as they are now on the increase and very little sickness amongst them of any kind."[50]

The year 1910 saw a strike of a different character from those made by miners take place in the Dease River basin. The Indians employed to line boat up that river struck for higher wages. The Hudson's Bay Company at McDame Creek hadbeen paying liners $2.50 a day; they now demanded $5.00 daily. The work was hard and required long hours. Lining began at five o'clock in the morning and often continued until eight at night. Six men were required to pull the boat, while in the craft were a captain and talk man. The leader of the strike was Big Joe, a Pelly River Indian, and under his leadership he strikers won their demands.

For many years reports of witch hunting emanating from the Kaska area had given those tribes an unfavorable reputation. In 1914 this notoriety wasintensified when Fred Allen, a

[48] Boas-Boas, James A Teit (1916); Boas, James A. Teit (1919). The allegation of Indians that Teit absconded to the United States with the funds of this organization (see below, pp. 71) is patently false and deserves serious refutation.

[49] Cockrill, Resources of the Alaska Highway (1942), 87.

[50] Field, Unpublished Manuscript (1913), 10.

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refers to an unrelated married woman by the first name of the husband with the prefix "missus." Between two women, the given name is generally employed.

Larger Social Groups

Social organization beyond kinship is of slight functional significance in Kaska society and, even more than the kinship system, is largely of categorical importance. The organization of the Kaska nation into tribes occupying loosely defined geographical districts has already been discussed.[7] There are four tribes known as the Frances Lake, Upper Liard River, Dease River, and Nelson Indians. The degree of emotional identification is relatively slight and would seem to be highest among the Upper Liard Indians. Here, however, relations between intertribal neighbors are, as we shall see, riddled by considerable suppressed antagonism. Although there is a tendency to restrict marriage within tribal units, many marriages have taken place between these units with a consequent diffusion of tribal membership and identification.

No single pattern for determining membership in a specific district or tribe seems to obtain. Old Man reported that a man belongs to the country of his father. He called himself a Liard River Indian, although his father was a Pelly Indian and his mother belonged to the Liard River tribe. In general a person seems to belong to the tribal district or tribe in which he was born and raised, regardless of the tribe from which his parents originally came. This is not final, however. A man who changes his residence with marriage, generally becomes identified with the country in which he takes up residence and begins to trap. For a time, he continues to be referred to as belonging to the district from which he originally came. As his roots grow deeper in the adopted district, he begins to be identified with that tribe. Because of the frequent shifting of residence that occurred up to about thirty years ago, and the frequency of tribal intermarriage which still continues, the districts present a far from perfect correlation with tribal designation. For example, the bulk of families in the Frances Lake district are reported to have originally lived in the Upper Liard River region. Of the four family heads known as Upper Liard River Indians, only one was born in that region and his youth was spent in many parts of the total Kaska area.

Most of the Kaska Indians are divided into two nonlocalized, matrilineal "sides" or moieties, the members of each of which feel vaguely related.[8] Although these sides are identified by the names of two animals, the Crow and Wolf respectively, there is little thought that a person has actually descended from a wolf or crow. Since neither of these two animals is customarily eaten, it is meaningless to talk of totemic food taboos. Both animals are readily killed, however, and the wolf is trapped for its fur as well as for the bounty paid on the pelt. The importance of the moiety is slight. Formal organization is lacking, there being no executives and no mechanisms to bring about the unified functioning of the group as a whole. The principal functions of the moiety lie in the regulation of marri-

[7] See above, pp. 32–35.

[8] Writing in 1908, Allard gives the impression of a number of unilateral kin groups. "The tribe," he says, referring to the Kaska, "is divided into sibs, such as Wolf (tsi yo nih), Crow (niska), Bear (sis), etc." No evidence of more than two exogamous groups could be adduced. By the Bear "sib," Allard is probably referring to the Bear Lake Indians, who trapped up along the Muddy River and traded into McDame Creek and Lower Post. Allard, *Notes on the Kaska and Upper Liard Indians* (1908), 25.

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served between Louis and his wife, Allie. Perhaps because she was herself partially intoxi- 578
cated, Allie showed no fear when her drunken husband began to beat her. Several times she 593
half-heartedly ran away. Once Louis caught her by the hair, knocked her to the ground, and began to punch her with his fists. With some effort the ethnographer and Old Man succeeded in separating the couple. Allie still stood her ground, and only with difficulty could she be urged to run away.

All open expression of hostility is socially condemned. Since alcohol is understood as 626
causing most aggressive behavior, there is a feeling that individuals prone to violence are 578
not good drinkers. As we have shown, this idea does not lead to the realistic exclusion of such men from drinking situations. Once the aggressive person returns to sobriety, he strongly regrets his behavior.

Intergroup Relations

Relations between Kaska speaking Indians and non-Kaska people are generally restricted. 648
The greatest amount of such interaction is carried on with Tahltan, Bear Lake, and Tselo-na neighbors; also with the whites. Most of the Kaska have heard of the Pelly River Indians to the north, but interaction between these two groups is rare.

Socially patterned attitudes toward Indian groups who reside outside of the Kaska area 648
are characterized by an ethnocentrism which is expressed mainly in unfavorable opinions 186
and is most strongly directed against the Tahltan. Least does it influence relations with the nearby Sekani tribes, into which considerable marriage has occurred. While Kaska judgements of their neighbors tend to extol the ingroup, any direct expression of ingroup exaltation is rarely heard.

It is commonly felt that the Tahltan Indians are too aggressive, while the latter people in turn look down on the Kaska as uncouth "bush Indians." The Tahltan, as Old Man pointed out, in their attitude toward the Kaska are influenced by the memory of their ancestors fighting these more northern Indians. Mildred Lang expressed a typical attitude toward the Telegraph Creek people when she said: "Too many Tahltans here. They're too tough. Fight too much." She also resented two local dwelling Tahltan families as being too "high toned," i.e., they tried to maintain a social exclusiveness which sometimes led to directly snubbing certain Kaska Indians, including herself. River Joe indicated that marriage between Tahltan and Kaska people is to be discouraged. The few marriages of this type, however, seem to be well established. On another occasion, when River Joe was intoxicated, he is reported to have become openly abusive of the Tahltan, claiming that they had no right to live in Kaska country. To the ethnographer he said that the Telegraph Creek Indians always get into fights when they have been drinking. The tenacity of Kaska attitudes toward these neighbors may be gauged from the fact that in 1945 a local restaurant lost considerable trade when the management was given to a Tahltan family. Although no organized boycott occurred, many Kaska kept their promise not to spend money in that place. Our evidence thus corroborates what Morice saw around 1900, when he wrote: "Even to this day the Kaska resent the Tahltan's assumed or real superiority, and will not be confounded with them as co-members of the same tribe."[32]

[32] Morice, *The Nah-ane and their Language* (1900–03), 720.

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In contrast to the Tahltan, the Bear Lake people, with whom considerable marriage has taken place, are accepted with little discrimination. Attitudes toward the Pelly Indians are also less hostile. The feeling of the Kaska is that the latter people are far less acculturated, that they still rely primarily on meat for food, and that they are therefore more hardy. There is a half-laughing tendency to admire this hardiness, which suggests some ambivalence of feeling. Old Man opined that the women of one lower Pelly River tribe, the Selkirk, were all unfaithful. "You sit in camp, if you're married to Selkirk woman, and your wife sees another man. When you go out and you come back you find your wife gone with kids. Selkirk Injuns always like that."

Not much is known of the Slave Indians who dwell to the east beyond the Rocky Mountains. When Louis Maza heard that these people lacked the potlatch, his immediate judgement was: "Just like dog." Then he wanted to know if they didn't abandon the bodies of their dead anyplace, without troubling to inter the corpses. When this was denied, he nevertheless praised the care with which the Upper Liard people treated their dead.

Contradictory attitudes are often manifested by the Indians toward the whites. White people who are not "high toned," associate with Indians, and participate in the latter's activities are treated with a great show of enthusiasm and friendship. These attitudes were markedly expressed toward the American soldiers and construction workers who, in visiting the area, were not only cordial to the natives but also generous, giving the latter gifts of food, liquor, and other objects. Occasionally less favorable sentiments toward whites betray themselves, as when Old Man requested an Indian youth to help him run a white man's boat, saying that he didn't want to rely wholly on "stupid" whites. Resentment toward American troops was also aroused in Indian youths when these soldiers monopolized native girls. River Joe once sent a complaint to the commanding officer of the RCAF, claiming that Canadian Air Force men had disturbed his camp in the middle of the night while looking for girls. Joe was, however, proud of his friendship with American soldiers and civilians, although fully aware that his unmarried daughter and niece were the chief reasons for his popularity. The Kaska are cognizant of the fact that many white men regard them as inferior and often spread distorted reports of Indian customs. Such attitudes, although covertly resented, do not lead to quarrels unless Indians have been drinking. Occasionally white men also take it upon themselves to criticize an Indian girl's promiscuous behavior. The girl usually reacts by denying the allegations and indignantly branding her accuser a "liar."

White men who demonstrate hardihood in their adaptation to the environment and who are good hunters, quickly meet the Indians' approval. Whites who fail to develop such abilities are pitied rather than condemned. A number of Kaska men (including Richard Day and Old Man) are characterized by strong ingratiatory behavior toward whites. Old Man frankly emphasized such demeanor as a valuable technique for getting along with white men, by which he meant receiving gifts and favors—especially liquor—from them.

Sexual Relations

In this section the interpersonal relations arising out of the socially patterned sexual impulse are discussed. Recent studies have shown that societies differ in the values and

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youths have improvised words to "Wabash Cannonball" which contain the refrain "Yukon cannonball." The prevailing theme of most of these songs is nostalgia, expressed as a longing for a loved and remembered place or an idealized woman. When played by the Indians, all of these melodies are transposed to a minor key, which further accentuates the nostalgic quality of the words and music. An undercurrent of gaiety and vivaciousness is introduced by the four-fourths time in which the tune is rendered. A number of people also own portable phonographs (locally called "gramophones") on which a variety of music, ranging from reels to ballet, is played.

Young men sometimes improvise short songs around commonplace activities. These are also sung in a minor key. Thus Nitla, while preparing to go hunting, sang of how he was going to get a moose. Song composition becomes freer when young men are intoxicated. Drunk in Old Man's camp one night, Peter Tom strummed his guitar and improvised a song around an incident that had occurred earlier that day. The words went:

> I spit blood this morning
> I don't want to die.
> Ole-o-lady o . . . [yodling].

Dancing. One of the most popular recreational features are the dances marking summer evenings in Lower Post. Early in the summer, with many young people in town, such dances are held almost nightly. They are attended principally by young people, married or single, and by one or two white men. When the American soldiers were in the Kaska area, a number showed up at these dances until the Army declared Lower Post out of bounds. The music is furnished by a violinist and one or two guitarists. Dances begin around midnight, when it is starting to get dark, and may continue to three or four o'clock in the morning. Later in the summer, as the nights get longer, dances start earlier. When a group of people want to dance they first ask the recognized musicians to play. The players receive no remuneration for their entertainment, although soldiers and white men sometimes collect a purse for them. The next task is to find a place to dance. River Joe's home, an unfinished trading store, and a deserted bunkhouse belonging to one of the trading companies were all well regarded as dance houses in 1944–45. Most of the time such accommodations are made available without charge; several times, however, River Joe sought to collect money from visitors attending dances in his house. He defended his behavior by speaking of the public dance hall at Teslin Lake to which admission is charged. Few people paid the requested fifty cents.

After a dance has been announced people congregate outside the building, while the players take their places at the back of the house near a lamp or candle. Several tunes go undanced before sufficient dancers venture inside the house or before people feel relaxed enough to go on the floor. Boys who have been drinking get the dancing underway more quickly, the availability of liquor, beer, or wine always making a more spontaneous and lively party. Within the dance house, the sexes line up along opposite walls of the building. When a man wishes to select a partner, he crosses the room and stops before the girl of his choice. She rises and, looking away from her partner, begins to dance with him. A girl continues to avert her face throughout the dance. The man holds his partner lightly and

132 However, very little of the Tahltan country lies within this wet belt. In the valley of the Lower Stikine the annual precipitation is estimated to be 100 inches or over, whilst in most parts of the Interior it probably does not exceed 15 to 25 inches. The southern part of the Tahltan country towards and around the head /waters/ of the Nass has more rainfall and snow fall than the northern and central parts and consequently this part of the country is on the whole more timbered.

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The extremes of temperature are great. It seems the greatest summer heat in the valleys is from 85 to 95° in different localities, depending a good deal on altitude, and in winter the greatest cold from 45 to 60 below zero F.

137 The principal trees are black pine, spruce (of two or three kinds,) balsam, willow, birch, alder and aspen. Hemlock, balsam, cedar and poplar are common in the valleys of the Cascades. Larch, Douglas fir and several kinds of pine so common in the Southern Interior are entirely wanting. Larch of some kind however is reported in certain localities further east in the Kaska country and elsewhere beyond the boundaries of the Tahltan, and cypress is reported to occur in the valley of the Iskut. (For a further description of the characteristics of the Tahltan country see Emmons pp. 9-11).

Tribal Boundaries

131 619 I spent considerable time with a number of informants trying to locate as correctly as possible the boundaries or approximate boundaries of the territories claimed by the Tahltan. Generally speaking, the Tahltan boundary on the west follows the axis of the Cascade or Coast Range, but the central part of the range is seldom penetrated except at a few points, as it is practically nothing but a sea of high rocky peaks and glaciers almost devoid of life. The lower eastern part of the range next /to/ the Interior plateau is the only portion really used by the Tahltan. There is a break in the general western boundary line of the Tahltan in the neighborhood of the Iskut and Stikine Rivers. Here the Tlingit claimed the river valleys on the Iskut to almost through the Cascade range, and on the Stikine to well beyond the range into the Interior to a point at least about or a little above Glenora, according to some informants,

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or to /?/ miles above Telegraph Creek, according to most informants. This is a distance of nearly 170 miles from the mouth of the River. They claimed complete right of way on these rivers as far up as the points mentioned and have been known to extort payment from Tahltan who wanted to go to the lower river or coast. The Tlingit at one time had a permanent settlement on the Iskut at the Forks and another some miles further up the main river. On the Stikine they always had a number of summer camps from the Canyon up to Glenora, where they dried salmon and gathered and cured berries. Besides these they had some temporary trading camps. They did very little hunting along the river, and in fact there was little to hunt excepting goats and bears, of which there were also plenty in their own country. It seems they seldom ventured far back in the hills anywhere, but kept close to their camps on the river. Before the cold weather set in and ice commenced running in the river they left for the Coast. The Tahltan then had complete control of the river as far down as about the mouth of the Iskut, for in the winter time, it seems, Tlingit hardly ever camped above this point. However, only a few of the Tahltan made any use of the river valley below the Clearwater River and that chiefly for trapping of furbearing animals. (It is said they could not cure salmon and berries properly in their own country without the aid of smoke and heat from fires as the climate was too wet. In the Interior, however, they could dry them in the sun and wind.)

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The Stikine River valley between the mouth of the Iskut and Telegraph Creek was thus used to some extent by both Tlingit and Tahltan, both claiming certain rights there, but neither tribe had any headquarters nor permanent abode there, nor was there anything very conducive in the nature of the country and its resources and climate to promote permanent settlement.

On the north the Tahltan boundary, from about longitude 133W., its most western point, ran northeasterly parallel to the Taku and Nakina Rivers some considerable distance back from them on the south or east sides. It seems to have crossed the Inklin River a little lower than halfway between its mouth where it joins the Taku and its head at the mouth of the Sheslay. Continuing north easterly to near the head of Teslin Lake /the boundary/ passed just west of Spruce Mountain

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Upper Liard

684 shame for both the woman and her family. A husband did not challenge his wife's lover but a woman who knew of her husband's infidelity attacked the other woman both verbally and physically. Folktales, such as the one describing a jealous husband cutting off an adulterous woman's leg below the thigh, highlighted the seriousness of the offense.

837 Mention of a chastity belt crops up in an anecdote which the informant did not believe to be true. It concerns a husband who prior to leaving for a hunt secured a rawhide line between his wife's legs to prevent her from having sexual relations during his absence.

687 Treason met with no punishment except that a traitor was not allowed to fight the enemy. He could, however, pack for the military expedition.

688 Violation of food and other avoidances did not so much result in the application of direct punishment as they led to fear of magical retribution. Reasoned arguments following from culturally standardized premises dissuaded people from breaking these taboos, and hence exemplify a particular type of social pressure.[28] Fear of punishment by ghosts for injuries done to people in their lives also represents a sentiment limiting conduct.[29]

624 In summary we can say that socially approved punishment in pre-contact Kaska life
681 consisted chiefly of unfavorable public opinion, exile, fines, and blood revenge. The
182 latter two sanctions were reserved for offenses against life. Nobody explicitly enjoyed the power to impose punishment on behalf of the total community. Hence most social pressure was informal or individualized. It should be clear that negative pressures did not exhaust the techniques for maintaining equilibrium in the social system. Potlatching, affinal ties, games, and minor rituals undoubtedly played their parts in preserving harmonious social relations.

648 War represented group retaliation for offenses committed by relative strangers upon members of the community. Since military revenge in turn promoted the desire for fresh vengeance on the opposite side antagonism between the Upper Liard Kaska and their neighbors tended to be chronic. The prevalent state of intertribal mistrust is well illustrated in the discomfort and frank suspicion aroused by any stranger. The Nakani and Nahani complexes, with their initial bound form indicating "enemy" or "hostile," reflect these states of anxiety and hostility. Informants refused to regard the Nakani as supernatural but applied the term to Indians with whom the Kaska had little contact, that is, "strange" Indians who raided people and stole women. The term Nakani applied particularly to the Cree (tecîna, a word deriving from the root for "tree") who hid in the bush with rifles waiting for an opportunity to abduct women.

Fighting occurred between the Upper Liard Indians and the people of Teslin Lake (probably the Taku), Pelly River, Eapatotena, and, of course, the Cree Indians. Warfare with the Tahltan was denied by one man (O), who stated that prior to contact the Kaska had traded with the Tahltan, so how could they have fought as enemies? His argument holds only for the relatively recent prehistoric period. It is not applicable to an earlier period, when the Tahltan were not yet middlemen in the trade originating west of the

[28] Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change* (1945), 53-55. For further information about avoidances see below, pp. 108-110.

[29] See below, pp. 136-137.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard

Coast Range. Even in 1945 mild hostility characterized Tahltan-Kaska relations and young men of the former group boasted of their ancestors successfully fighting the Kaska. Other informants corroborated the fact of war between the two groups. Nobody recalled trouble with the Bear Lake Sekani. The upper Liard River people regarded the Etca'otena of the Fort Nelson River as stupid and almost inhuman but fighting with them could not be recalled.[9]

Large-scale aggression did not occur frequently and there existed no value on fighting for its own sake. War was defensive in theory, a means of subduing bad or potentially dangerous people. Woman felt dismay when preparations for hostility began and some sought, with only rare success, to keep their men from battle. Both sexes equally welcomed the resumption of peace. Typically a war party originated in a situation like the following: A man, visiting the camp of a stranger, saw a scalp which he suspected belonged to one of his relatives. The traveler returned to his own country and discovered who was missing. If several people had not been heard of for a long time the original surmise became fact. Driven by anger, the man began hostilities by killing a woman who had originally belonged to the enemy group. In front of his companions he displayed a knife, blade uppermost, and moved it in a semicircle as a gesture of hostility. "I'm still hungry," he would say. Then those people prepared to attack the enemy. The desire to steal women took its place alongside revenge as an auxiliary motive for aggression. The wish for prestige played little part in promoting aboriginal warfare.

A war leader was not identical with the band's headman. Sometimes the expedition also included a shaman who worked sorcery against the enemy. While the war chief acted as "boss" of the war party he had no power to inflict corporal punishment. At most he could order a disobedient member to quit the group. Several microcosmic groups probably provided recruits for a military expedition, so that the leader assumed the proportions of a true political authority. The expedition itself contained two divisions, young men about 19 or 20 years old, who packed the goods, and warriors, averaging about 30 years of age, who did the actual fighting. Women never directly participated in aggressive warfare but they sometimes visited the enemy camp to act as spies. Such an envoy might return to tearfully beg that the intended victims be spared.

Preparatory to fighting men made new knives, lances, fitted with stone or caribou horn blades, and many arrows. Each warrior provided himself with two bows in the event that one should break. In addition the men donned bear skin armor in the form of a sleeveless coat that reached to the knees. This was made from hides tanned with the hair on and worn with the hair out. Magical significance is probable, since among the Indians the bear enjoyed a reputation for his fierceness. Over his head the warrior carried, fur exposed, a caribou-skin helmet lined with birch bark. Sometimes headgear included a visor covering the whole face and provided with holes for vision.[10] Helmets

[9] For counter attitudes among the Slave, see Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946), 19-21.

[10] Tlingit armor consisted of long tunics made with two or three thicknesses of hide or hide reinforced with wooden slats. Twined-reed jackets were used by the Chilkat and helmets of solid wood with visors held in the teeth. Jenness, *Indians of Canada* (1932), 330; Drucker, *Culture Element Distributions: XXVI, Northwest Coast* (1950), 187.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Dease River

from beating to killing. Injuries inflicted in quarrels demanded settlement by payment. To avoid blood vengeance in the event of murder the murder's family might accumulate many valuables, like skins, robes, and clothing, for presentation to the victim's kin. Even intertribal wars with the Tahltan could sometimes be avoided by offering valuables. A cannibal found himself banished from the community for as long as two years. Ostracism also greeted a couple guilty of incest, an offense covering sexual relations between members of a common moiety. Magical retribution further promised to hasten the death of such people.[6] A folk tale explains that men were likely to find their sisters sexually attractive because of an incident that had occurred very long ago. There once lived a man who left his two wives (they were sisters) and his children, killed his brother-in-law, and copulated with his widowed sister. The deserted wives killed the incestuous couple with the approval of the husband's brother, who said, "My brother did evil and acted like a dog."[7] An adulterous wife suffered a beating but a man had to be careful not to inflict serious injury or his behavior would constitute a crime punishable by the parents-in-law, who might demand an indemnity. A woman could divorce a philandering husband. The extent to which marital jealousy was developed is suggested in the tale of "The Deserted Woman."[8] A woman became suspected of infidelity because she offered her husband grease that she had found. The man, believing that the grease represented payment from a lover, burned his wife's clothing and tools and deserted her, expecting that she would die of cold and starvation. She managed to survive until two brothers discovered and married her. Subsequently she refused to return to her cruel husband. Illegitimacy disgraced both a mother and, later, the child.

Intergroup attitudes are reflected in the Nakani *lusz*. The term designates a "bad Indian," who is given to lurking in the bush as he waits for an opportunity to steal girls. Victims of such an attack were never recovered but were taken to the abductor's tribe to become his wives. Dease River informants asserted as confidently as upper Liard River speakers that a Nakani represented a flesh and blood Indian rather than a supernatural being. The chronic insecurity marking intertribal relations sometimes exploded into war, resentment over encroachment of territories by foreigners being a common motive for fighting.[9] Many engagements were recalled between the Kaska and Tahltan. Ideally the fighting began when an enemy party raided a Kaska encampment, stealing women and killing the men. Inevitably relatives or friends discovered the crime and

[6] George Adsit reported that the Tahltan punished incest by death. On one occasion a guilty couple fled from their band and succeeded a small tributary creek. There, surrounded by an abundance of food, they raised two children before their people discovered them and killed the whole family.

[7] Teit, *Kaska Tales* (1917), 439-440.

[8] Teit, *Kaska Tales* (1917), 433-435.

[9] Hunters speaks of feuds over hunting grounds dividing the Tahltan and Kaska. (Morice, *Babine and Their Language* [1900-1903], 110.) The entry of white trappers into the Cassiar also met with resentment. "The Coeur Indians have the greatest objection to white men trapping on their own account in their country; gold dust they can take as much as they like, but the fur is the Indian's equivalent for gold and must be left for the Indian. They are very firm on this point—so much so that a couple of white men who were trapping on the Liard some years ago were killed by the Indians because they refused to let the fur alone." Pike, *Through the Subarctic Forest* (1896), 111.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
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set out to avenge the deaths. The retaliatory party also captured women, children, and occasionally robes and arrows. Children were never killed. Shields and armor could not be recalled.[9] Weapons included clubs, bows, and arrows. Sometimes both sides agreed to the cessation of hostilities by raising both hands over the head and then bringing them together again in front of the body as in prayer. Wars were followed by feasts and dancing.

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Tsalona. At Fort Nelson in 1943 an old Kaska woman, Widow Matoit, gave a somewhat ethnocentric account of fighting between Kaska and Cree Indians. It seems likely that she belonged to the Tsalona division and, because her story has not previously been printed, it is given here.[10]

> This fellow was alone in the bush. It was spring. While he was alone, the Cree Indians captured him and his wife together. They took both of them away to the Cree people's country in the south. They never fed the man but only the woman and they also kept them apart. Each chance she had the woman slipped a little food to her husband, the little she could lay her hands on. Whenever the party pulled out of a camp they gave the man the big heavy packs to carry. He had to do it or be killed. Finally, when they arrived in a strange country, they turned the woman's husband loose. His wife said, "You don't have to go back where you came from. Just stay here but keep off the trail. I'll always have some food and I'll leave some. In that way you'll have food." He kept off the trail but followed the group through the brush. When they made camp he hid. Always when he came to the camp after they had left he found that his wife had left some food for him. Finally these people came to their own country. Now this man had some good moose-hide clothes heavily decorated with fancy quill-work and fur trimmed. These people had never seen such clothes. When the party arrived at the Cree camp the husband hid a distance away from the settlement. There was a fellow who was cutting poles for the trading post. The husband was afraid to move, even when he saw the man with a big ax coming toward him. He was sure that these were not the people who had captured his wife because the woodcutter was a white man. The white man began to cut down a tree near where the Grand Laker was hiding. The latter was afraid to move, not knowing who this man might be. The tree promised to fall straight down toward where the husband was hiding. If it fell on him, he decided, he would run away. The tree began to fall as the Indian as he jumped up. Now the white man saw him. He saw the good clothes and he wondered where they had come from, knowing that such things were lacking in this country. He talked to the Indian. "Where did you come from?" The Grand Laker understood. "You are not from this country. Those clothes are too good for this country. I never saw anything like that before. You stay here. I'll go and tell the boss that I found somebody with good clothes. Don't move."
>
> The man remained where he was while the other fellow told the boss. The boss came out and asked the stranger, "Where are you from?" The man told him. The boss invited him to stay and offered tobacco. The Grand Laker had never tasted tobacco but now he learned how to smoke. At first he did not like the taste. Then the white man gave him a gun and taught him how to shoot. The husband stayed for a while but finally returned to his own country with gun, ammunition, and tobacco. But he lost his wife.
>
> He came to his own country knowing where the people would be in the late fall. The last night it snowed a little. The husband was looking for his brother and father. The brother was out hunting and

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[9] The neighboring Tahltan fought with the Tlingit, Upper Stone, Taku, and Stikine Indians using skin armor and helmets of thick goat skin. They sought scalps as well as women prisoners. The Tahltan sometimes released captives in return for a ransom. Osgoode, *Indians of Canada* [1932], 372; Teit, *On Tahltan (Athabaskan) Work* [1912], 385). A local informant corroborated the information that the Tahltan scalped their enemies. According to George Adolf these Indians also recognized war leaders.

[10] For a thumbnail sketch of the informant see Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946), 16.

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happened to strike a track. He thought a stranger had made the trail but he followed it. All the people had been looking for this man and his wife. Soon the brother saw the man packing something. The brother circled and crept up. Meanwhile the husband saw the creeping man. He saw whom the latter had dropped by a short sprues. As the brother lay quietly the husband shouted. The fellow by the sprues looked up at him. It was his missing brother! "What are you doing here?" He cried. "We have been looking for you all summer. Are you really my brother?" Then they complained each other and went home together.

That's the way the story goes. The husband told all about the way the Cree Indians had treated him. He would have died if it had not been for his wife. The storekeeper had saved his life by giving him the rifle.